

## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

APRIL 23, 1884.—Ordered to be printed.

Mr. BROWN, from the Committee on Woman Suffrage, submitted the following

## VIEWS OF THE MINORITY.

[To accompany S. Res. 19.]

*The undersigned minority of the Committee of the Senate on Woman Suffrage, to whom was referred S. Res. 19, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, granting the right to vote to the women of the United States, beg leave to submit the following report :*

The undersigned believe that the Creator intended that the sphere of the males and females of our race should be different, and that their duties and obligations, while they differ materially, are equally important and equally honorable, and that each sex is equally well qualified by natural endowments for the discharge of the important duties which pertain to each, and that each sex is equally competent to discharge those duties.

We find an abundance of evidence both in the works of nature and in the Divine revelation to establish the fact that the family properly regulated is the foundation and pillar of society, and is the most important of any other human institution.

In the Divine economy it is provided that the man shall be the head of the family, and shall take upon himself the solemn obligation of providing for and protecting the family.

Man, by reason of his physical strength, and his other endowments and faculties, is qualified for the discharge of those duties that require strength and ability to combat with the sterner realities and difficulties of life. The different classes of outdoor labor, which require physical strength and endurance, are by nature assigned to man, the head of the family, as part of his task. He discharges such labors as require greater physical endurance and strength than the female sex are usually found to possess. It is not only his duty to provide for and protect the family, but as a member of the community it is also his duty to discharge the laborious and responsible obligations which the family owe to the State, and which obligation must be discharged by the head of the family, until the male members of the family have grown up to manhood, and are able to aid in the discharge of those obligations, when it becomes their duty in their turn to take charge of and rear each a family, for which he is responsible.

Among other duties which the head of the family owes to the State is military duty in time of war, which he, when able-bodied, is able to discharge, and which the female members of the family are unable to discharge.

He is also under obligation to discharge jury duty, and by himself or his representative to discharge his part of the labor necessary to con-

struct and keep in proper order roads, bridges, streets, and all grades of public highways. And in this progressive age upon the male sex is devolved the duty of constructing our railroads, and the engines and other rolling-stock with which they are operated, of building, equipping, and launching shipping and other water crafts of every character necessary for the transportation of passengers or freight upon our rivers, our lakes, and upon the high seas.

The labor in our fields, sowing, cultivating, and reaping crops must be discharged mainly by the male sex, as the female sex, for want of physical strength, are generally unable to discharge these duties.

As it is the duty of the male sex to perform the obligations to the State, to society, and to the family, already mentioned, with numerous others that might be enumerated, it is also their duty to aid in the government of the State, which is simply a great aggregation of families. Society cannot be preserved nor can the people be prosperous without good government. The Government of our country is a government of the people, and it becomes necessary that that class of people upon whom the responsibility rests should assemble together and consider and discuss the great questions of governmental policy which from time to time are presented for their decision. This often requires the assembling of caucuses in the night-time as well as public assemblages in the day-time. It is a laborious task for which the male sex is infinitely better fitted than the female sex, and after proper consideration and discussion of the measures that may divide the country from time to time the duty devolves upon those who are responsible for the Government at times and places to be fixed by law, to meet and by the ballot to decide the great questions of government upon which the prosperity of the country depends. These are some of the active and sterner duties of life to which the male sex is by nature better fitted than the female sex. If in carrying out the policy of the State on great measures adjudged vital such policy should lead to war, either foreign or domestic, it would seem to follow very naturally that those who have been responsible for the management of the State should be the parties to take the hazards and hardships of the struggle.

Here again man is fitted by nature for the discharge of the duty—woman is unfit for it. So much for some of the duties imposed upon the male sex for the discharge of which the Creator has endowed them with proper strength and faculties.

On the other hand the Creator has assigned to woman very laborious and responsible duties, by no means less important than those imposed upon the male sex, though entirely different in their character. In the family she is a queen. She alone is fitted for the discharge of the sacred trust of wife and the endearing relation of mother. While the man is contending with the sterner duties of life, the whole time of the noble, affectionate, and true woman is required in the discharge of the delicate and difficult duties assigned her in the family circle, in her church relations, and in the society where her lot is cast. When the husband returns home weary and worn in the discharge of the difficult and laborious task assigned him, he finds in the good wife solace and consolation which is nowhere else afforded. If he is despondent and distressed she cheers his heart with words of kindness; if he is sick or languishing, she soothes, comforts, and ministers to him as no one but an affectionate wife can do. If his burdens are onerous she divides their weight by the exercise of her love and her sympathy.

But a still more important duty devolves upon the mother. After having brought into existence the offspring of the nuptial union, the children are dependent upon the mother as they are not upon any other

human being. The trust is a most sacred, most responsible, and most important one. To watch over them in their infancy, and as the mind begins to expand to train, direct, and educate it into the paths of virtue and usefulness is the high trust assigned to the mother. She trains the twig as the tree should be inclined. She molds the character. She educates the heart as well as the intellect, and she prepares the future man, now the boy, for honor or dishonor. Upon the manner in which she discharges her duty depends the fact whether he shall in future be a useful citizen or a burden to society. She inculcates lessons of patriotism, manliness, religion, and virtue, fitting the man by reason of his training to be an ornament to society or dooming him by her neglect to a life of dishonor and shame. Society acts unwisely when it imposes upon her the duties that by common consent have always been assigned to the sterner and stronger sex, and the discharge of which causes her to neglect those sacred and all-important duties to her children, and to the society of which they are members.

In the church by her piety, her charity, and her Christian purity she not only aids society by a proper training of her own children, but the children of others, whom she encourages to come to the sacred altar, are taught to walk in the paths of rectitude, honor, and religion. In the Sunday-school room the good woman is a princess, and she exerts an influence which purifies and ennobles society, training the young in the truths of religion, making the Sunday-school the nursery of the church and elevating society to the higher planes of pure religion, virtue, and patriotism.

In the sick room and among the humble, the poor, and the suffering, the good woman, like an angel of light, cheers the hearts and revives the hopes of the poor, the suffering, and the despondent.

It would be a vain attempt to undertake to enumerate the refining, endearing, and ennobling influences exercised by the true woman in her relations to the family and to society when she occupies the sphere assigned her by the laws of nature and the Divine inspiration, which are our surest guide for the present and the future life. But how can woman be expected to meet these heavy responsibilities and to discharge these delicate and most important duties of wife, Christian, teacher, minister of mercy, friend of the suffering, and consoler of the despondent and the needy, if we impose upon her the grosser, rougher, and harsher duties which nature has assigned to the male sex?

If the wife and the mother is required to leave the sacred precincts of home, and to attempt to do military duty when the State is in peril, or if she is to be required to leave her home from day to day in attendance upon the court as a juror, and to be shut up in the jury-room from night to night, with men who are strangers, while a question of life or property is being considered, if she is to attend political meetings, take part in political discussions, and mingle with the male sex at political gatherings, if she is to become an active politician, if she is to attend political banquets at late hours of the night, if she is to take part in all the unsavory work that may be deemed necessary for the triumph of her party, and if on election day she is to leave her home and go upon the streets electioneering for votes for the candidates who receive her support, and mingling among the crowds of men who gather around the polls, she is to press her way through them to the ballot-box and deposit her suffrage, if she is to take part in the corporate struggles of the city or town in which she resides, attend to the duties of his honor the mayor, of councilman, or of policeman, to say nothing of the many other like obligations which are disagreeable even to the male sex, how is she, with all these heavy duties of citizen, politician, and office-holder rest-

ing upon her shoulders, to attend to the more sacred, delicate, and refining trust to which we have already referred, and for which she is peculiarly fitted by nature? If she is to discharge the duties last mentioned, how is she, in connection with them, to discharge the more refining, elevating, and ennobling duties of wife, mother, Christian, and friend, which are found in the sphere where nature has placed her?

Who is to care for and train the children while she is absent in the discharge of these masculine duties?

If it were proper to reverse the order of nature and assign woman to the sterner duties devolved upon the male sex and to attempt to assign man to the more refining, delicate, and ennobling duties of the woman man would be found entirely incompetent to the discharge of the obligations which nature has devolved upon the gentler sex, and society must be greatly injured by the attempted change. But if we are told that the object of this movement is not to reverse this order of nature, but only to devolve upon the gentler sex a portion of the more rigorous duties imposed by nature upon the stronger sex, we reply that society must be injured, as the woman would not be able to discharge those duties so well, by reason of her want of physical strength, as the male, upon whom they are devolved, and to the extent that the duties are to be divided the male would be infinitely less competent to discharge the delicate and sacred trusts which nature has assigned to the female.

But it has been said that the present law is unjust to woman; that she is often required to pay taxes on property she holds without being permitted to take part in framing or administering the laws by which her property is governed, and that she is taxed without representation. This is a great mistake.

It may be very doubtful whether the male or the female sex, in the present state of things, has more influence in the administration of the affairs of the Government, and the enactment of the laws by which we are governed.

While the woman does not discharge military duty, nor does she attend courts and serve on juries, nor does she labor upon the public streets, bridges, or highways, nor does she engage actively and publicly in the discussion of political affairs, nor does she enter the crowded precincts of the ballot-box to deposit her suffrage, still the intelligent, cultivated, noble woman is a power behind the throne. All her influence is in favor of morality, justice, and fair dealing; all her efforts and her counsel are in favor of good government, wise and wholesome regulations, and a faithful administration of the laws. Such a woman, by her gentleness, kindness, and Christian bearing, impresses her views and her counsels upon her father, her husband, her brothers, her sons, and her other male friends, who imperceptibly yield to her influence many times, without even being conscious of it. She rules not with a rod of iron, but with the queenly scepter; she binds not with hooks of steel, but with silken cords; she governs not by physical efforts, but by moral suasion and feminine purity and delicacy. Her dominion is one of love, not of arbitrary power.

We are satisfied, therefore, that the pure, cultivated and pious ladies of this country now exercise a very powerful but quiet, imperceptible influence in popular affairs much greater than they will ever again exercise if female suffrage should be enacted and they should be compelled actively to take part in the affairs of State and the corruptions of party polities.

It would be a gratification, and we are always glad to see the ladies gratified, to many who have espoused the cause of woman suffrage if they could take active part in political affairs, and go to the polls and

cast their votes alongside the male sex; but while this would be a gratification to a large number of very worthy and excellent ladies, who take a different view of the question from that which we entertain, we feel that it would be a great cruelty to a much larger number of the cultivated, refined, delicate, and lovely women of this country who seek no such distinction; who would enjoy no such privilege, who would with woman-like delicacy shrink from the discharge of any such obligation, and who would sincerely regret that what they consider the folly of the state, had imposed upon them any such unpleasant duties.

But should female suffrage be once established it would become an imperative necessity that the very large class, indeed much the largest class of the women of this country, of the character last described, should yield, contrary to their inclinations and their wishes, to the necessity which would compel them to engage in political strife. We apprehend no one who has properly considered this question will doubt, if female suffrage should be established, that the more ignorant and less refined portions of the female population of this country, to say nothing of the baser class of females, laying aside female delicacy, and disregarding the sacred duties devolving upon them to which we have already referred, would rush to the polls and take pleasure in the crowded association which the situation would compel of the two sexes in political meetings and at the ballot-box.

If all the baser and all the more ignorant portion of the female sex crowd to the polls and deposit their suffrage, this compels the very large class of intelligent, virtuous, and refined females, including the wives and mothers who have much more important duties to perform, to leave their sacred labors at home, relinquishing for a time the God-given important trust which has been placed in their hands, to go contrary to their wishes to the polls and vote, to counteract the suffrage of the less worthy class of our female population.

If they fail to do this the best interests of the country must suffer.

It is now a problem which perplexes the brain of the ablest statesman to determine how we will best preserve our republican system as against the demoralizing influence of the large class of our present citizens and voters, who, by reason of their illiteracy, are unable to read or write the ballot they cast.

Certainly no statesman who has carefully observed the situation would desire to add very largely to this burden of ignorance. But who does not apprehend the fact if universal female suffrage should be established that we will, especially in the Southern States, add a very large number to the voting population whose ignorance utterly disqualifies them to discharge the trust. If our colored population, who were so recently slaves that even the males who are voters have had but little opportunity to educate themselves, or to be educated, whose ignorance is now exciting the liveliest interest of our statesmen, are causes of serious apprehension, what is to be said in favor of adding to the voting population all the females of that race, who, on account of the situation in which they have been placed, have had much less opportunity to be educated than even the males of their own race? We do not say it is their fault that they are not educated; but the fact is undeniable that they are grossly ignorant, with very few exceptions, and probably not one in a hundred of them could read and write the ballot they would be authorized to cast. What says the statesman to the propriety of adding this immense mass of ignorance to the voting population of the Union in its present condition?

It may be said that their votes could be offset by the ballots of the educated and refined ladies of the white race in the same section, but

who does not know that the ignorant voters would be at the polls *en masse*, while the refined and educated, shrinking from public contact on such occasions would remain at home and attend to their domestic and other important duties, leaving the country to the control of those who could afford, under the circumstances, to take part in the strifes of politics, and to come in contact with the unpleasant surroundings before they could reach the polls.

Are we ready to expose the country to the demoralization, and our institutions to the strain, which would thus be placed upon them, for the gratification of a minority of the virtuous and the good of our female population, at the expense of the mortification of a much larger majority of the same class?

It has been frequently urged with great earnestness by those who advocate woman suffrage that the ballot is necessary to the women to enable them to protect themselves in securing occupations, and to enable them to realize the same compensation for the like labor which is received by men. This argument is plausible, but upon a closer examination it will be found to possess but little real force. The price of labor is, and must continue to be, governed by the law of supply and demand; and the person who has the most physical strength to labor, and the most pursuits requiring such strength open for employment, will always command the higher prices.

Ladies make excellent teachers in the public schools; many of them are every way the equals of their male competitors, and still they secure less wages than males. The reason is obvious. The number of ladies who offer themselves as teachers is much larger than the number of males who are willing to teach. The larger number of females offer to teach because other occupations are not open to them. The smaller number of males offer to teach because other more profitable occupations are open to most males who are competent to teach. The result is that the competition for positions of teachers to be filled by ladies is so great as to reduce the price, but as males cannot be employed at that price, and are necessary in certain places in the schools, those seeking their services have to pay a higher rate for them. Persons having a larger number of places open to them with fewer competitors command higher wages than those who have a smaller number of places open to them with more competitors. This is the law of society. It is the law of supply and demand, which cannot be changed by legislation.

Then it follows that the ballot cannot enable those who have to compete with the larger number to command the same prices as those who compete with the smaller number in the labor market. As the legislature has no power to regulate in practice that of which the advocates of female suffrage complain the ballot in the hands of females could not aid its regulation. The ballot cannot impart to the female physical strength which she does not possess, nor can it open to her pursuits which she does not have physical ability to engage in; and as long as she lacks the physical strength to compete with men in the different departments of labor there will be more competition in her department, and she must necessarily receive less wages.

But it is claimed again that females should have the ballot as a protection against the tyranny of bad husbands. This is also delusive. If the husband is brutal, arbitrary, or tyrannical, and tyrannizes over her at home, the ballot in her hands would be no protection against such injustice, but the husband who compelled her to conform to his wishes in other respects would also compel her to use the ballot if she possessed it as he might please to dictate. The ballot could therefore be of no assistance to the wife in such case, nor could it heal family strifes or

dissensions. On the contrary, one of the gravest objections to placing the ballot in the hands of the female sex is that it would promote unhappiness and dissensions in the family circle. There should be unity in the family.

At present the man represents the family in meeting the demands of the law and of society upon the family. So far as the rougher, coarser duties are concerned, the man represents the family, and the individuality of the woman is not brought into prominence, but when the ballot is placed in the hands of the woman her individuality is enlarged and she is expected to answer for herself the demands of the law and of society on her individual account, and not as the weaker member of the family to answer by her husband. This naturally draws her out from the dignified and cultivated refinement of her womanly position, and brings her into a closer contact with the rougher elements of society, which tends to destroy that higher reverence and respect which her refinement and dignity in the relation of wife and mother have always inspired in those who approached her in her useful and honorable retirement.

When she becomes a voter she will be more or less of a politician, and will form political alliances, or unite with political parties, which will frequently be antagonistic to those to which her husband belongs. This will introduce into the family circle new elements of disagreement and discord, which will frequently end in unhappy divisions, if not in separation or divorce. This must frequently occur when she becomes an active politician, identified with a party which is distasteful to her husband. On the other hand, if she unites with her husband in party associations, and votes with him on all occasions, so as not to disturb the harmony and happiness of the family, then the ballot is of no service, as it simply duplicates the vote of the male on each side of the question, and leaves the result the same.

Again, if the family is the unit of society, and the State is composed of an aggregation of families, then it is important to society that there be as many happy families as possible, and it becomes the duty of man and woman alike to unite in the holy relation of matrimony.

As this is the only legal and proper mode of rendering obedience to the early command to multiply and replenish the earth, whatever tends to discourage the holy relation of matrimony, is in disobedience of this command, and any change which encourages such disobedience is violative of the Divine law, and cannot result in advantage to the State. Before forming this relation it is the duty of young men who have to take upon themselves the responsibilities of providing for and protecting the family to select some profession or pursuit that is most congenial to their tastes, and in which they will be most likely to be successful; but this is not permitted to the young ladies, or if permitted, it cannot be practically carried out after matrimony. As it might frequently happen that the young man had selected one profession or pursuit and the young lady another; the result would be that after marriage she must drop the profession or pursuit of her choice and employ herself in the sacred duties of wife and mother at home, and in rearing, educating, and elevating the family, while the husband pursues the profession of his choice.

It may be said, however, that there is a class of young ladies who do not choose to marry, and who select professions or avocations and follow them for a livelihood. This is true, but this class compared with the number who unite in matrimony with the husbands of their choice is comparatively very small; and it is the duty of society to encourage the increase of marriages rather than of celibacy. If the larger number of females select pursuits or professions which require them to decline

marriage, society to that extent is deprived of the advantages resulting from the increase of population by marriage.

It is said by those who have examined the question closely that the largest number of divorces is now found in the communities where the advocates of female suffrage are most numerous, and where the individuality of woman as related to her husband, which such a doctrine inculcates, is increased to the greatest extent. If this be true, and it seems to be well authenticated, it is a strong plea in the interest of the family and of society, against granting the petition of the advocates of woman suffrage. After all, this is a local question, which properly belongs to the different States of the Union, each acting for itself, and to the Territories of the Union, when not acting in conflict with the Constitution and laws of the United States.

The fact that a State adopts the rule of female suffrage, neither increases nor diminishes its power in the Union, as the number of Representatives in Congress to which each State is entitled, and the number of members of the electoral college appointed by each, is determined by its aggregate population, and not by the proportion of its voting population, so long as no race or class is excluded from the exercise of the right of suffrage.

While the undersigned would vote against female suffrage if the question were to arise in their respective States, they admit the power of the States over the subject-matter. Entertaining these views they protest against a constitutional amendment which would confer the right of female suffrage in all parts of the Union, without regard to the wishes of the different States at any time after the adoption of the said amendment. They believe that the noble, true, good women of the country should be heard, and as an expression of their views there is hereto appended "Woman's Protest against Woman Suffrage" known as the Lorain Memorial against Woman Suffrage, presented to the Ohio legislature and signed by a large number of the most thoughtful and intelligent women of the cities of Oberlin and Elyria, Ohio, including lady teachers and wives of professors in Oberlin College.

JOSEPH E. BROWN,  
F. M. COCKRELL.

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WOMAN'S PROTEST AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

We acknowledge no inferiority to men. We claim to have no less ability to perform the duties which God has imposed upon us than they have to perform those imposed upon them.

We believe that God has wisely and well adapted each sex to the proper performance of the duties of each.

We believe our trusts to be as important and sacred as any that exist on earth.

We believe woman suffrage would relatively lessen the influence of the intelligent and true, and increase the influence of the ignorant and vicious.

We feel that our present duties fill up the whole measure of our time and ability, and are such as none but ourselves can perform. Our appreciation of their importance requires us to protest against all efforts to infringe upon our rights by imposing upon us those obligations which cannot be separated from suffrage, but which, as we think, cannot be performed by us without the sacrifice of the highest interests of our families and of society.

It is our fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons who represent us at the ballot-box. Our fathers and our brothers love us; our husbands are our choice and one with us; our sons are what we make them. We are content that they represent us in the corn-field, on the battle-field, and at the ballot-box, and we them in the school-room, at the fireside, and at the cradle, believing our representation even at the ballot-box to be thus more full and impartial than it would be were the views of the few who wish suffrage adopted, contrary to the judgment of the many.

We do therefore respectfully protest against any legislation to establish "woman suffrage" in our land, or in any part of it.

